



AMEMBASSY ROME

TELEGRAM

Mean Summit

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TO RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME

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PRIORITY

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ROME PASS TO BREMER FOR THE SECRETARY

REVIEW OF FRI. PAPERS/OTHER

COMMENT ON SUMMIT

JULY 6, 1974

"SUPERPOWERS STILL LOOK FOR WAY TO HEAD OFF NUKE ARMS RACE"
IS MONITOR'S 5-COL. LEAD...MONITOR'S SCHMIDT NOTES SOME WHO'VE
ACCOMPANIED RN TO M-E AND SUMMIT "EXPRESSED DOUBT" RE: IF RN
"COULD OBTAIN THE GOAL OF NUKE ACCORD WHICH HE'S HIMSELF SET...
BUT OTHYRS POINTED TO SKILL SHOWN BY RN IN DEALING W/M-E RULERS,
COMMUNIST LEADERS AND PEOPLES OF WIDELY DIFFERING TEMPERAMENTS,
FROM JIDDA TO MINSK, AND TO BOUNTIFUL HARVEST OF AGREEMENT,

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UNDERSTANDINGS, PLANS AND PROMISES GATHERED IN BY THE PRES'L
NEGOTIATING TEAM."

"LID'S OFF THE NUKE RACE" W/KICKER, "SUMMIT A FEARFUL FLOP"
TOPS FREE PRESS ANALYSIS BY KNIGHT'S MCCARTNEY WHO ASSERTS SUMMIT
"WAS A BLEAK AND DISMAL FAILURE -- ENOUGH TO MAKE ALL MANKIND WEEP.
THE RESULT: NO NEW MEASURES TO CONTROL NUKE ARMS RACE, AND A
PUBLIC ADMISSION BY A CHASTENED HAK THAT ARMS RACE IS OUT OF CON-
TROL, THE ATOMIC GENIE OUT OF THE BOTTLE. THAT MEANS MANKIND NOW
FACES THE PROSPECT THAT HUNDREDS, PERHAPS THOUSANDS OF NEW NUKE
BOMBS, EACH 1 POWERFUL ENOUGH TO DESTROY A CITY, WILL HANG AS A
SWORD OVER HUMAN RACE." THE PESSIMISTIC MCCARTNEY ATTRIBUTES
FAILURE TO 1) W'GATE, SINCE "WEAKENED RN...WAS IN NO POSITION TO
TAKE ANYTHING BUT A HARD LINE AGAINST SOVIETS"; 2) DOD POWER WHICH
IS "CLOSELY ALLIED TO MANY HILL CONSERVATIVES, "W/HAK "OPENLY"
ACKNOWLEDGING DOD'S ROLE IN AN "ALL BUT PUBLIC" ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
OF "LONG-RUMORED" HAK-SCHLESINGER "RIFT...IT ALSO IMPLIED RN
HAD SIDED W/SCHLESINGER, NOT HAK, IN THE CLINCHES." MCCARTNEY
ADMITS SUMMIT "WASN'T W/OUT ACCOMPLISHMENT," AND THE "FACT IT
WAS HELD AT ALL -- THAT THE 2 SIDES SO LONG ESTRANGED ARE SPEAKING --

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WAS CERTAINLY NOT BAD NEWS....BUT IN FIELD THAT COUNTED MOST, SUMMIT'S A FAILURE. AND ALL OF THE SPEECHES AND TOASTS ABOUT FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND DETENTE THAT WERE DELIVERED SHOULD PROBABLY BE RE-EXAMINED W/THAT IN MIND."

WS JOURNAL'S KEATLEY ASSERTS RN'S HAVING MUCH MORE TROUBLE THAN CONCEDED W/VITAL PART OF STRUCTURE OF PEACE'S FOUNDATION: "CONTROLS ON NUKE WEAPONS,...WHAT RN HASN'T EXPLAINED IS THE NEW APPROACH IS REALLY A LAST MINUTE DECISION TAKEN BECAUSE OLD APPROACH HAD FAILED." SR. US OFFICIAL SAID SALT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD "PROVE W/IN 6 MONTHS WHETHER MOSCOW INTENDS TO SIGN ANY EFFECTIVE CONTROLS ON OFFENSIVE WEAPONS...IF IT DOESN'T, SURE RESULT WILL BE A NEW SPURT IN ARMS RACE, RAISING BOTH MILITARY COSTS AND DANGERS OF NUKE WAR." KEATLEY SAYS WHEN IT WAS "OBVIOUS BREZ WOULDN'T MEET CONDITIONS ACCEPTABLE TO US, RN-HAK DECIDED TO TRY SOMETHING DIFFERENT. THEIR ALTERNATIVE WAS TO ADMIT DEFEAT, SOMETHING RN CAN'T AFFORD." THUS, APPROACH "CALLS FOR FRESH GENEVA TALKS SEEKING A COMPREHENSIVE TREATY RUNNING THRU '85...IF SUCCESSFUL, THIS WOULD ACCOMPLISH MUCH. IT'D COVER ALL OFFENSIVE WEAPONS." BUT, SAID KEATLEY, "IT'S POSSIBLE BREZ HASN'T YET MADE THE BASIC DECISION THAT SOME SORT OF AGREEMENT'S

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VITAL, WHATEVER DETAILS MAY BE. IF HE DOESN'T DO SO SOON, PRESSURE FOR BIGGER US ARMS BUDGETS WILL ESCALATE, US OFFICIALS BELIEVE."

"MOSCOW QUIETLY SATISFIED W/'ROUTINE' SUMMIT" ON P. 1 SUM.... "MOSCOW THANKFULLY SINKS BACK INTO DROWSY SUMMER" TOPS ANOTHER SUN PIECE ON THE "EXHAUSTED" CAPITAL REPLACING RN SIGNS W/ONES HONORING BHUTTO AND SHIFTING FOCUS FROM US-USSR RELATIONS TO SPACE EFFORT.

"BREZH NIXED NEW NUKE PACT: HENRY" IS NBR 2 IN NY NEWS... SUN'S PARKS REPORTS SOVIET OFFICIALS SAID "IF TANGIBLE RESULTS SEEM SMALL, THIS WAS PRIMARILY A REFLECTION OF RN'S DOMESTIC IMPOTENCE." A SOVIET SPECIALIST ON US AFFAIRS SAID "THERE WAS NOTHING MORE, NOTHING LESS" THAN EXPECTED. "PERHAPS MOST IMPT IS PROCESS OF DETENTE WASN'T ALLOWED TO FALTER OR APPEAR TO FALTER DESPITE RN'S PROBLEMS." AND PARKS NOTED, "NO DISSATISFACTION WAS EXPRESSED" OVER FAILURE OF MIRV AGREEMENT, W/SOVIET FEELING SEEMING TO BE "ANY SUCH AGREEMENT...WOULD INEVITABLY BECOME CENTER OF CONTROVERSY IN US AND PROVOKE A CAMPAIGN THAT MIGHT UNDERMINE DETENTE AS A WHOLE." A SOVIET SOURCE SAID SUCH ACCORD "NOT ONLY WOULD IT

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BE DIFFICULT" TO REACH BUT ALSO "COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. PEOPLE WOULD SAY WE TOOK ADVANTAGE OF A WEAK PRES, THAT WE COULDN'T BE TRUSTED AND DEALT W/HONESTLY."

SUN REPORTS SOVIET PRESS OFFICIALS ARE "STILL PROUDLY SPORTING THE MICKEY MOUSE BUTTONS ELBOURNE HANDED OUT...KNIGHT'S MCCARTNEY LEADS: "IT'S AN ASTONISHING SPECTACLE: A RUSS CHEERING SECTION FOR RN, THAT ONETIME ARCHENEMY OF COMMUNISM AND COMMUNISTS. AND CHEERLEADER IS NONE OTHER THAN BREZ, "WHO'S TRYING TO HELP RN "AS I POL HELPS ANOTHER IN US POLITICS. HE'S LIKE A USG PRESS AGENT PUTTI N THE BEST FACE ON A SHAKY DEAL."

SUN REPORTS "SURPRISED" SOVIETS HEARD STOESSEL TELLING THEM ON TV ABOUT "LONG REVOLUTIONARY AND DEMOCRATIC TRADITION" IN US... "MOST SOVIETS FEEL COMMUNISTS INVENTED DEMOCRACY, REVOLUTION AND NATL INDEPENDENCE AND MANY WERE UNDOUBTEDLY STARTLED TO BE REMINDED 1ST SUCCESSFUL MODERN REVOLUTION WAS US WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. STOESSEL TOOK OCCASION TO COAT A PLEA FOR FREER EXCHANGE OF INFO AND IDEAS AND CLOSER PERSONAL CONTACTS...W/GOODWILL CREATED BY SUMMIT."

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TERMING SALT LOOPHOLE CONTROVERSY "ALARMING," "FRIGHTENING" AND "DISTURBING," MARIANNE MEANS ADDS "CONTROVERSY FURTHER CHIPS AWAY AT SUDDENLY SMUGGED IMAGE OF HAK AS A MORE HONEST AND CAPABLE FELLOW THAN RN'S FORMER DOMESTIC ADVISERS...AT VERY LEAST, IT SUGGESTS THAT 1-MAN DIPLOMACY AND HEAVY SECRECY, WHICH MAY BE ADVANTAGEOUS IN SOME CIRCUMSTANCES, MAY ALSO GIVE RISE TO MISTAKES. IT ALSO INDICATES THAT IF ADMIN WANTS TO HIDE SOMETHING FROM HILL, IT'S RELATIVELY EASY TO DO SO." IT ALSO MAKES MEANS "WONDER WHAT CONCESSIONS MAY HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO GET THAT LOOPHOLE CLOSED IN TIME " FOR 3RD SUMMIT AND "FURTHER WONDER HOW ON EARTH ANYONE WILL EVER FIND OUT."

LA TIMES SAYS THO RN "MAY BE MORE DISAPPOINTED" IN SUMMIT'S "MODEST RESULTS...THAN HE INDICATED, THERE'S A LOT OF TRUTH IN COMMENT THAT "MOST REMARKABLE THING ABOUT THIS SUMMIT IS IT'S TAKING PACE SO ROUTINELY, SO FAMILIARLY." ANNUAL SUMMIT "IS A HABIT WORTH PRESERVING EVEN WHEN RESULTS ON ANY 1 MEETING SEEM MEAGER." YET TRIP "DID PRODUCE WORTHWHILE RESULTS. AGREEMENT TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS TO PREVENT MILITARY USE OF WEATHER MODIFICATION TECHNIQUES, EG., IS OF

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GREAT POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCE...STILL, THERE'S NO ESCAPING A DEEP SENSE OF DISAPPOINTMENT, EVEN OF FOREBODING, IN FAILURE...TO PROGRESS TOWARD PERMANENT OFFENSIVE MISSILE LIMITATION." NOTING "IT BECOMES EXTREMELY HARD FOR OUTSIDERS TO JUDGE, IN ALL GOOD FAITH, JUST WHAT SOVIET INTENTIONS ARE," LA TIMES CONCLUDES "THIS UNCERTAINTY, UNFORTUNATELY, FORCES US TO BE MORE CAUTIOUS THAN IT MIGHT LIKE TO BE."

SUN SAYS "RN'S JUSTIFIED IN CLAIMING MODEST ACCOMPLISHMENT IN AN ENTERPRISE OF GREAT DELICACY, INTRICACY AND WORLD SIGNIFICANCE. THAT HIS RETURN.....COULD BE CALLED A TRIUMPHAL MOMENT WASN'T IN THE CARDS' BUT RN'S RIGHT IN ASSESSMENT AS HAVING MOVED FORWARD A PROCESS THAT W/LUCK AND CAREFUL TENDING COULD FURTHER EASE TENSIONS... THERE'S MOVEMENT, AND IN JUDGING IT WE NEED ONLY TRY TO IMAGINE SITUATION IF INSTEAD THERE'D BEEN RETROGRESSION." SUN SAYS IF

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"WE'VE NOW MOVED CLOSER" TO "CONTINUING DIALOGUE,...RN'S ARDUOUS TRIP WAS WELL WORTH IT."

IN ANOTHER EDIT, SUN SAYS SUMMIT "CONSPICUOUSLY FAILED TO HALT OFFENSIVE ARMS DEVELOPMENT RACE...THIS ISN'T TO DENIGRATE" ARM AGREEMENT, BUT AGREEMENT RE: UNDERGROUND TRESTING "UNDERScores RACE FOR PHANTOM 'SUPREMACY' IN OFFENSIVE WEAPONS IS ON. NOTING USSR'S "WORKING FURIOUSLY TO DEPLOY MIRVS TO GIVE IT AN OVERALL LEAD," AND SCHLESINGER "WANTS TO PLUNGE AHEAD W/BETTER DELIVERY SYSTEMS AND ACCURACY," SUN NOTES "THIS WAS SITUATION SUMMIT MIGHT HAVE HEADED OFF BUT DIDN'T...(YET), "CHIEF RAY OF LIGHT WAS AGREEMENT TO TRY AGAIN NEXT YEAR."

MONITOR CALLS SUMMIT "MEAGER". MOST THAT CAN BE SAID IS STRATEGIC WEAPONS POSITION HAS BEEN CLARIFIED BY BOTH SIDES. HAK'S COMMENTS WERE "NOTABLY SOMBER" AND AGREEMENT ON UNDERGROUND TESTS FOR PEACEFUL USES AND ON-SITE INSPECTION, ALTHO IMPORTANT IS "ALMOST PERIPHERAL TO CRUX OF ARMS PROBLEMS...." KREMLIN'S "DELIBERATELY PLAYING A 'WAIT AND SEE' GAME," PARTLY BECAUSE OF UNCERTAINTY AROUND RN. MONITOR, HOWEVER FEELS IT WAS WORTHWHILE FOR RN TO

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MAKE TRIP AS SUMMIT KEPT UP MOMENTUM OF IMPROVED RELATIONS.

RICHMOND NEWS LEADER SAYS "CONVENTIONAL WISDOM" THAT "LITTLE WAS TO BE EXPECTED" WAS "CORRECT; THERE WAS NO 'CONCEPTUAL BREAKTHRU' BY HAK, NO DRAMATIC DEPARTURES FROM WHAT MUST BE BECOMING A RATHER COZY FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN RN-BREZ." BUT, "QUESTION AS TO WHAT US' RELATIONSHIP W/USSR SHOULD BE REMAINS UNANSWERED....FOR NOW, SIVJET POLICY SEEMS TO BE DETENTE'S TOO IMPT FOR MERE MATTERS LIKE TAPPED PHONES AND 3RD-RATE BURGLARIES TO INTERFERE W/." THUS, SAYS NEWS LEADER, "IT SEEMS DETENTE FACES MORE DIFFICULTIES IN US THAN MOSCOW. INDEED, A CERTAIN US SKEPTICISM ABOUT DETENTE MAY PROVE TO BE PRUDENT."

LA TIMES ASSERTS "ONLY ACCEPTABLE RESPONSE" RE: RUSS CENSORSHIP IS "OFFICIAL PROTEST IN STRONGEST LANGUAGE AND FROM HIGHEST US LEVEL."....NY NEWS AGREES W/NETS' "UNANIMOUS INSTANT ANALYSIS" THAT RUSS "BEHAVED OUTRAGEOUSLY," BUT IT POINTS OUT, "ACTION WAS ALSO FULLY IN CHARACTER W/REPRESSIVE, SUPPRESSIVE NATURE OF COMMUNISM," ESPECIALLY IN REPORTING "ANYTHING LESS THAN FULSOMELY FLATTERING TO USSR. DETENTE OR NO DETENTE. USSR HASN'T CHANGED A

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WHIT IN THAT RESPECT," SAYS NEWS.

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NOTING RN IN '68 SAID, "I'M NOT IN FAVOR OF SUMMIT POLITICS IN PRINCIPLE," LE MONDE, IN WHAT SUN CALLED "TYPICALLY SKEPTICAL FRENCH ASSESSMENT," SAID, "A LOT OF WATER'S FLOWED UNDER BRIDGES OF POTOMAC" SINCE THEN. IN FAILING TO APPLY OWN PRINCIPLES RN REGISTERED A "HALF-FAILURE" AT SUMMIT, WHICH LENGTH OF COMMUNIQUE AND ACCORDS COULDN'T HIDE.

MORRIS OF LA TIMES REPORTS CESC DELEGATES "EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT RELATIVELY OPTIMISTIC TONE" IN SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE, WHICH ASSUMED RESULTS OF CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD PERMIT WINDUP "AT AN EARLY DATE

AT HIGHEST LEVEL." DELEGATES POINT OUT THIS IS "PRETTY MUCH WHAT BREZ WANTS...(BUT) ALSO WHAT HE SIGNALLY FAILED TO GET FROM POMPIDOU...IT RAISED SUSPICIONS IN MANY MINDS THWT RN DIDN'T TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SERIOUS RESERVATIONS EUROPEANS HAVE ABOUT WINDING UP CESC SOON."

VERA GLASER REPORTS "A COSTLY, UNPUBLICIZED PART" OF M-E AND USSR TRIPS "HAS BEEN ACCOMPANYING AIRLIFTS OF FANCY PARTY

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FOOD AND FINE WINES" FOR BANQUEST. "JET TRANSPORT FOR FOOD AND PERSONNEL, STEWARDS' SALARIES, PLUS TAB FOR EDIBLES AND POTABLES, CONSERVATIVELY ESTIMATED, COULD EASILY BRING COST OF WINING AND DINING GUESTS ABROAD TO \$200/HEAD," SHE SAYS, NOTING MEALS ARE "COURTESY (OF) US TAXPAYER."

ARMAND HAMMER ON CBS AM NOTED RUSS CAN'T UNDERSTAND WHY THEY DON'T ENJOY THE SAME TRADE BENEFITS AS OTHER COUNTRIES. HE THINKS THERE'S BEEN PROGRESS RE: JEWISH EMIGRATION, NOTING UNDER STALIN NO ONE LEFT AND LAST YR. 35,000 EMIGRATED. HE BELIEVES RN/BREZ DISCUSSED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN USSR-ISRAEL, AND HE THINKS IT'S ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THIS HAPPENS.

CBS AM'S SCHIEFFER W/TONGUE-IN-CHEEK COMMENT ON THE "SR. US OFFICIAL" WHO TRAVELS TO EXOTIC PLACES W/HAK. HIS FRIENDS ARE "BACK-GROUNDER" AND "NOT FOR ATTRIBUTION" AND HIS ENEMIES INCLUDE "DOD SOURCE" WHO USUALLY DISAGREES W/HIM.

LONDON FINANCIAL TIMES REPORTER, NOTING BREZ SAID "AGREEMENTS COULD'VE BEEN 'BROADER,'" FOUND THIS AS PUBLIC CRITICIS OF RN "IN A

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WAY THA'S UNUSUAL IN ARCAINE LANGUAGE OF DIPLOMACY, AND NATURALLY SUGGESTS HIS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS MAKE IT HARD FOR HIM TO NEGOTIATE EFFECTIVELY.".....LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH'S BARBER SAID, "RN, WEAKENED POLITICALLY BY W'GATE, WASN'T IN A POSITION TO REACH" A PERMANENT SALT, AND "RUSS WOULDN'T BUDGE FROM PREVIOUS BARGAINING POSITION."

LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH EDIT OBSERVED, "RN'S ACCUSED OF SEEKING A MERETRICKIOUS SUCCESS AS RELIEF FROM W'GATE. BUT THIS WAS SAID OF HIS M-E TOUR, WHICH TURNED OUT TO BE A TRIUMPH -- ALBEIT 1 NOTABLY UNREWARDED W/LAURELS. IN REALITY, MUCH OF SUDDEN AWAKENING TO DANGERS OF DETENTE IS PART OF PSY WARFARE IN VENDETTA AGAINST RN/HAK"

BUT IT'S "MUCH BETTER FOR WEST, IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, TO SIT TIGHT TIL ITS HOUSE AND DEFENSES ARE IN ORDER."

SEGONZAC IN FRANCE-SOIR NOTED IT WAS "EXPECTED" THAT LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS WOULD BE A "VERY DIFFICULT OBSTACLE...BUT IT DOESN'T

PREVENT GEN'L DISAPPOINTMENT. BUT MEETING ISN'T ENDING NEGATIVELY... IT ESTABLISHES PRINCIPAL OF REGULAR CONVERSATIONS AND CONFIRMS INSTITUT'L MEANS TO CONTINUE CONTACTS ON DIFFICULT PROBLEMS.".....

FIGARO CORRESPONDENTS NOTED WHATEVER 1 THINKS OF SUMMIT'S VALUE, "IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED THAT IN THEIR WAKE BEGINS PROCESS WHICH MAY EITHER BEAR CONCRETE RESULTS OR AT LEAST PREVENT OPEN CONFRONTATION WHEN AN OBSTACLE BLOCKS THE ROAD." NOTING "OVERFLOW OF FRIENDSHIP...UPSETS (SOVIET) HAWKS," THEY SAID, "THERE'VE BEEN SHISPEERS ABOUT OLD IDEOLOGUE SUSLOV...WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR STIFFENING OF THE 'HAWKS.' ONE RECALLS -- BREZ BETTER THAN ANYONE ELSE -- THAT SUSLOV WAS PRINCIPAL ACTOR IN PLOT THAW DITCHED KHRUSHCHEV."

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